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Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 BELGRADE 1308

EUR ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: YO
SUBJECT: US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN YUGOSLAVIA

REF: (A) 77 STATE 291277 (B) 77 STATE 296053 (C) 77 STATE 295599

1. IN VIEWTHS ON BOTH THE GENERAL APPROACH TO THE FUTURE
OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AND VIRTUALLY EVERY SPECIFIC ASPECT
-,$ 8, .8$ 5 9* 974 -,$ 6974 0430-4-589, *94 5859 ;8 85,
WE TRUST THAT DEPARTMENT WILL UNDERSTAND THAT FOLLOWING IS
RATHER GENERAL RESPONSE TO FEB 15 DEADLINE TO PUT IMPLEMENTING
MEAT ON BONES OF "US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES" EXERCISE. AFTER
TITO VISIT WE WILL WANT TO TAKE ANOTHER, MORE SEARCHING LOOK
AT PRIORITIES FOR THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO.

2. INHERENT IN OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN YUGOSLAVIA ARE THE
TWO ESSENTIAL INTERESTS THE US CONTINUES TO HAVE IN THIS
COUNTRY: TO PRESERVE YUGOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE FROM THE
SOVIET UNION AND TO MODERATE YUGOSLAV POLICIES AND
ACTIVITIES WHICH CONFLICT WITH THOSE OF THE US. OVER THE
NEXT TWO YEARS THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE TWO INTERESTS, IF
ANYTHING, IS LIKELY TO INCREASE AND US PRIORITIES SHOULD BE
ATTENTIVE TO DEVELOPMENTS WHICH MAY AFFECT THESE INTERESTS.

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3. TITO, AT 85, IS STILL IN CHARGE AND INVOLVED WITH
MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS. HOWEVER, MANY YUGOSLAVS
PERCEIVE THE 11TH LCY CONGRESS IN JUNE AS AN INSTRUMENT
TO SOLIDIFY THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE POST-TITO ERA. THUS,
IN A SENSE, YUGOSLAVIA MAY BE SEEN AS HAVING ENTERED
ITS TITO TRANSITION PERIOD.BUT DESPITE THE GOY'S ATTEMPTS
TO ENCOURAGE ACCEPTANCE OF CONTINUITY, MANY QUESTION MARKS IN
THE FORM OF NATIONALISTIC, ECONOMIC, AND IDEOLOGICAL TENSIONS

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ARE EVIDENT. IN SHORT, THE DIRECTION OF POST-TITO YUGOSLAVIA
IS NOT AT ALL CERTAIN.

4. IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS YUGOSLAVIA WILL CONTINUE TO
PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES WHICH BEAR
ON US POLICY. THE OUTCOME OF THE BELGRADE CSCE CONFERENCE
IS NOT YET CLEAR, BUT YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT
PLAYER IN THE NEUTRALS/NON-ALIGNED GROUPING. AS A MEMBER
OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM) COORDINATING BUREAU, TO
MEET IN KABUL THIS SPRING, AND AS HOST FOR THE JULY NAM
FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING, YUGOSLAVIA'S PARTICIPATION IN
DELIBERATIONS OVER A WIDE RANGE OF KEY ISSUES WILL BE
EFFECTIVE AND ITS VOICE INFLUENTIAL. IT WILL ALSO
CONTINUE TO BE ACTIVE IN THE UN SPECIAL SESSION ON
DISARMAMENT, WHICH IS A YUGOSLAV BRAINCHILD, AND IN OTHER THIRD
WORLD AREAS SUCH AS THE NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONSHIP.

5. WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THROUGH ITS IDEOLOGICAL
ORIENTATION, YUGOSLAVIA WILL CONTINUE TO REGARD THE
US AS THE MAJOR "CAPITALIST" AND "PROGRESSIVE" MOVEMENTS.
NOR CAN WE EXPECT TO HAVE ANYTHING BUT LIMITED IMPACT ON
YUGOSLAVIA'S INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT. NEVERTHELESS, OUR
EFFORTS CAN BE MEANINGFUL IF OUR GOALS AND
OBJECTIVES ARE GEARED TO ENGAGE YUGOSLAVIA IN A MATURE
DIALOGUE SEEKING TO ACHIEVE A STATE OF MUTUAL TRUST AND
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CONFIDENCE. AND WE NEED TO GIVE CONCRETE MEANING TO
THIS DIALOGUE BY BUILDING A STRONGER FABRIC OF ECONOMIC,
MILITARY AND CULTURAL COOPERATION. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE
OUR WESTERN PARTNERS TO JOIN US IN THIS TASK.

6. HERE ARE THE APPROACHES WE RECOMMEND. COMMENTS
RESPOND TO REF C'S MAJOR HEADINGS. WE DO NOT TREAT
ALL THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES DIRECTLY BUT HIGHLIGHT
THOSE WHICH DESERVE SPECIAL ATTENTION.

7. MAINTENANCE OF YUGOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY AND CLOSER BILATERAL RELATIONS.

-- OUR SUPPORT FOR YUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY IS WELL MANIFESTED BY APPROPRIATELY TIMED HIGH
LEVEL STATEMENTS, BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, REAFFIRMING OUR
CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO THIS GOAL. THE JOINT STATEMENTS WHICH
WILL EMERGE FROM PRESIDENT TITO'S VISIT WILL PLAY AN
IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS RESPECT AND SET THE CONTEXT FOR OUR
OVERALL RELATIONSHIP FOR THE PERIOD AHEAD. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, WE
MUST ESCHEW ACTIONS WHICH IN YUGOSLAV MINDS WOULD UNDERMINE
THIS COMMITMENT. THE GOY IS A SEVERE CRITIC OF BLOC POLITICS
AND SUPERPOWER DOMINATION. IT REACTS SHARPLY TO LESS THAN

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EQUAL TREATMENT AND IS ENRAGED BY THE SMALLEST EXAMPLE OF WHAT
IT CONSIDERS "PRESSURE". IN OUR BILATERAL CONTACTS WE SHOULD
RECOGNIZE YUGOSLAVIA'S VITAL CONCERNS AND INTERESTS AS WELL AS
FORCEFULLY AND CANDIDLY EXPLAIN, WHERE POLICY DIFFERENCES
EMERGE, OUR OWN POSITIONS.

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-- THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN PRESIDENTS CARTER AND TITO
ON SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENTS HAS HELPED TO
GENERATE AND SUSTAIN A SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN OUR BILATERAL
RELATIONS. THIS EXCHANGE, AS WELL AS THE HIGH LEVEL BRIEFINGS
WE HAVE PROVIDED THEY GOY, HAVE ADDED A SPECIAL DIMENSION TO OUR
RELATIONSHIP. APART FROM THEIR TANGIBLE BENEFITS, THEY ALSO DEMON-
STRATE TO THE GOY OUR DESIRE TO BASE OUR RELATIONSHIP ON MUTUAL
RESPECT. WE URGE THAT WE CONTINUE THIS PRACTICE.

-- LOOKING TOWARD THE POST-TITO FUTURE WE MUST BUILD CONTACTS
AND PROMOTE A POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH EMERGING POLITICAL,
ECONOMIC AND MILITARY LEADERS. CARRYING OFF IN STYLE THE NOW
AGREED EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE LCY AND THE MAJOR AMERICAN POLITICAL
PARTIES THIS FALL IS BUT ONE APPROACH. THE UNION OF SOCIALIST
YOUTH AND THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE ARE ALSO TARGETS OF OUR ATTENTION.
ONE OF OUR PRINCIPAL PURPOSES IN ENHANCING MILITARY COOPERATION
IS TO INCREASE OUR CONTACTS WITH INDIVIDUAL YUGOSLAV MILITARY
LEADERS AND GAIN A GREATER APPRECIATION OF THEIR POLITICAL
ROLE AND VIEWS.

-- OUR CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES
AND OUR INFORMATION PROGRAM MAKE CRUCIAL
CONTRIBUTIONS TO BUILDING THE FABRIC OF MUTUAL
UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION WE WILL NEED TO WEATHER THE
TITO TRANSITION. WE PLAN TO EXPAND EXISTING PROGRAMS AND ADD
NEW FACETS SUCH AS A USIS BRANCH POST IN TITOGRAD. WE ARE

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WORKING TO BROADEN THE COMPETENCE OF THE AMERICAN-YUGOSLAV EDUCATION COMMISSION AND TO RESIST YUGOSLAV ATTEMPTS TO EMPHASIZE HARD VS SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM. REGARDING THE SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE PROGRAM, UNLESS WE CAN REACH AGREEMENT WITHIN THE USG TO CONTINUE USING OUR DINARS TO MATCH CONTRIBUTIONS, THE PROGRAM WILL DROP OFF SHARPLY -- SIGNALLING DECLINING US INTEREST IN THIS COUNTRY AT THE VERY TIME WE SHOULD BE DOING THE REVERSE.

-- OUR ANTI-TERRORISM OBJECTIVE HERE MUST ALSO BE SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN YUGOSLAV CONFIDENCE IN OUR COMMITMENT TO THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND STABILITY OF YUGOSLAVIA IN THE TITO TRANSITION ERA. WE HAVE TO CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE BY DDED OUR INTENT TO INHIBIT ANTI-YUGOSLAV TERRORISM IN THE US. A PUBLIC US STATEMENT OPPOSING SEPARATIST ATTEMPTS TO DISMEMBER YUGOSLAVIA, ESPECIALLY THROUGH TERRORIST METHODS, WOULD BE EXTREMELY USEFUL. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE MUST CONTINUE TO INSIST TO THE GOY THAT ANTI-TERRORISM CANNOT BE A SELECTIVE ACTIVITY, THAT THERE ARE NOT GOOD TERRORISTS AND BAD TERRORISTS. WE ARE HEARTENED BY THEIR AGREEMENT TO JOIN OUR ANTI-TERRORIST CONTACT GROUP IN NEW YORK.

8. LIBERALIZATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS. WE HAVE NO QUALMS ABOUT ENGAGING THE GOY IN A DIALOGUE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. IN DOING SO, HOWEVER, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT YUGOSLAVIA AS A "SOCIALIST" NATION BELIEVES THAT MAN'S GAINING CONTROL OVER HIS OWN DESTINY DEPENDS MORE ON ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND EQUALITY THAN ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND ORGANIZED POLITICAL OPPOSITON. THEY SEE A CAPITALIST'S ARBITRARY CONTROL OVER HIS WORKERS AND MORE THAN EQUAL IMPACT ON GOVERNMENTAL. DECISIONS AS A GREAT BARRIER TO INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND EQUALITY. WE MUST ALSO BE ALERT TO THE USEFUL LIMITS OF A DIALOGUE AND GUARD AGAINST FORCING THIS RELATIVELY MOST LIBERAL COMMUNIST

REGIME TO JOIN FORCES WITH COMRADES TO THE EAST IN ARGUING THAT ONLY COMMUNIST SOCIETIES PROVIDE TRUE HUMAN RIGHTS (AS HAPPENED BRIEFLY EARLY LAST YEAR WHEN YUGOSLAV HUMAN RIGHTS FAILINGS WERE A SUBJECT OF ATTENTION IN WESTERN PRESS. MORE RECENTLY THEY HAVE CITED HUMAN RIGHTS FAILINGS IN THE EAST AS WELL AS THE WEST.)

-- THE GOY MAINTAINS THAT ITS CONSTITUTION AND LAWS ON ITS POLICE, SECURITY AND JUDICIAL POWERS ARE WELL-DEFINED,

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PROPERLY SUITED FOR PARTICULAR SECURITY NEEDS OF A COUNTRY WITH MAJOR EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL THREATS, AND NOT ARBITRARY. IT ALSO CONTENDS THAT THE YUGOSLAV SYSTEM GUARANTEES BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. THERE IS CONSIDERABLY MORE FREEDOM HERE THAN IN THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS, BUT CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN IN THE WEST. WE CANNOT CHANGE YUGOSLAV LAWS AND MAY EVEN HAVE PROBLEMS TRYING TO CHANGE YUGOSLAV ATTITUDES. HOWEVER, WE CAN WORK QUIETLY TO TRY TO PERSUADE THE GOY THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAWS NEED NOT BE PURSUED WITH A POLICE STATE MENTALITY, AND TO TRY TO INSTILL A SENSE THAT "LOYAL" OPPOSITION NEED NOT LEAD TO CENTRIFUGATION OF THE COUNTRY (ALTHOUGH JUDGING BY THE EVENTS OF 1971, WE COULD NOT IN GOOD CONSCIENCE GUARANTEE THIS).

-- WE WILL CONTINUE TO BRING THE PROBLEM OF DUAL NATIONALS TO THE GOY'S ATTENTION. RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE, WHICH INVOLVES A CONFLICT OF NATIONALITY LAW, WILL REQUIRE EXAMINATION BY THE DEPARTMENT'S EXPERTS. PENDING RESOLUTION, YUGOSLAV TREATMENT OF DUAL NATIONALS IS LIKELY TO BE LARGELY A FUNCTION OF THE STATE OF OUR RELATIONS.

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9. BROADENING ECONOMIC TIES. NO SINGLE STRAND OF A DURABLE FABRIC OF COOPERATION FOR THE FUTURE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION BRINGING ABOUT A MAJOR INCREASE IN TRADE AND INVESTMENT IS ONE OF OUR HIGHEST PRIORITIES FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS.

-- SINCE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENTAL AND COMMERCIAL BODIES HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ORGANIZE PROPERLY TO IMPROVE THEIR OVERALL TRADE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., WE HAVE BEGUN A MAJOR EFFORT TO IDENTIFY PROBLEMS AND UNCOVER OPPORTUNITIES FOR INCREASED TRADE. CONTINUING DECENTRALIZATION HAS PLACED MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREIGN TRADE IN THE REPUBLICS. THIS IS

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WHERE WE ARE CONCENTRATING OUR EFFORTS. THIS LOCAL APPROACH
HAS ELICITED GOOD RESPONSE FROM REPUBLICAN AND MUNICIPAL
AUTHORITIES. ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL, WE WILL CONTINUE TO RESEARCH
AND SPONSOR TECHNICAL SALES SEMINARS, MISSIONS, AND COMMERCIAL
EXHIBITS, AS WELL AS MAINTAINING OUR INTENSIVE PROGRAM OF BUSINESS
COUNSELLING.

-- IN PRINCIPLE, YUGOSLAV AUTHORITIES AND ENTERPRISES REMAIN
RESPONSIVE TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT. IN PRACTICE THERE ARE STILL
TENSIONS BETWEEN THE MORE WESTERN-ORIENTED TECHNICIANS AND MANAGERS
AND SOME INFLUENTIAL GOVERNMENT AND PARTY FUNCTIONARIES WHO
RETAIN A LINGERING CLASSICAL MARXISM/LENINISM. THE FUTURE OF
FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA WILL DEPEND ON THE FINAL RE-
SOLUTION OF THESE DIFFERENCES IN THE FORM OF THE NEW LAW ON
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JOINT VENTURES.WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS THE YUGOSLAVS FOR MORE
LIBERAL TREATMENT OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT,NOT LEAST
FOR THE INCREASED TECHNICAL AND TRADE CONNECTIONS WHICH COULD
BE FORGED WITH THE WEST.

-- THE SUPERGUARANTEE IMPASSE IS ONE OF THE MORE
STUBBORN PROBLEMS IN OUR BILATERIAL RELATIONSHIP. AFTER NEARLY
A YEAR OF GOY RECALCITRANCE AND A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF TALKING PAST
EACH OTHER, WE MAY NOW BE CLOSER TO A SETTLEMENT. THE KEY IS
THE CONSTRUCTION OF A GUARANTEE FORMULA WHICH MEETS THE
REQUIREMENTS OF EXIM AND WHICH THE GOY WILL BE ABLE TO APPLY
TO OTHER EXPORT CREDIT-SUPPLYING NATIONS AS WELL AS TO THE US.
ONCE THIS IS SETTLED, EXIM FINANCING, IF IT RESUMES QUICKLY,
WILL REGAIN ITS POSITION AS A VERY IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN OUR
ECONOMIC LINKS WITH YUGOSLAVIA.

-- FOR OVER A YEAR THE KRSKO SITUATION HAS BEEN A MAJOR IRRITANT
IN US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS. ALTHOUGH WE REACHED A PARTIAL
AGREEMENT LAST YEAR, WE MUST STILL SOLVE THE RETRANSFER/RE-
PROCESSING QUESTIONS. NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOW IN
PROGRESS TO BE HELD IN THE SECOND HALF OF FEBRUARY, BUT WE
COULD WELL HAVE THIS ON OUR PLATE FOR MANY MORE MONTHS AS A
MAJOR PROBLEM.

-- IN DEALING WITH THE GOY ON KRSKO WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO ASSURE
THEM THAT OUR CONCERNS ARE MOTIVATED NOT BY POLITICAL OR COMMERCIAL
DESIRES BUT BY OUR COMMON NONPROLIFERATION GOALS. WE HAVE ALSO
SOUGHT TO DISSUADE THEM FROM TURNING AWAY FROM US NUCLEAR
SUPPLIERS FOR FUTURE PROJECTS AS A RESULT OF THEIR REACTION TO
KRSKO. INTERNATIONALLY, THE GOY HAS PLAYED A GENERALLY POSITIVE
ROLE IN NONPROLIFERATION CONSIDERATIONS, AND ITS POSITIONS,
FOR THE MOST PART, PARALLEL OURS. HOWEVER, THE GOY DOES NOT WANT
POLICIES "IMPOSED" UPON IT BY THE "NUCLEAR MONOPOLY". WITH
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THE RECOGNITION THAT YUGOSLAVIA'S VOICE IS INFLUENTIAL IN THE THIRD WORLD, WE WILL CONTINUE TO INVEST OUR ENERGIES FOR ACCEPTANCE OF OUR POLICIES.

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10.BILATERAL MILITARY LINKS. ALONG WITH EXPANDING ECONOMIC TIES, BUILDING A MEANINGFUL MILITARY RELATIONSHIP IS OUR HIGHEST TANGIBLE PRIORITY. THIS CAN BE NURTURED BY A VARIETY OF ACTIVITIES, BUT MILITARY SALES ARE THE KEY. WE MUST CONVINCE THE GOY THAT THE PRESIDENT'S APPROVAL OF THE NEW MILITARY SALES POLICY WAS NOT AN EMPTY GESTURE. THE GOY IS SEEKING TO LESSEN ITS EQUIPMENT DEPENDENCY ON THE SOVIET UNION. WE HAVE BEEN URGIN THE YUGOSLAV MILITARY TO BE MORE OPEN IN ITS CONTACT WITH US AND MORE PRECISE IN DEFINING ITS NEEDS. THEY HAVE BEGUN TO RESPOND, INTER ALIA, BY AGREEING TO BUY A NUMBER OF ITEMS CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN STATE-OF-THE-ART.
IN RETURN WE SHOULD SHOW OUR GOOD WILL BY BREADING LOOSE ONE OR TWO MAJOR ITEMS. THE NEW MILITARY RELATIONSHIP IS NOT LIMITED TO "SUPPLY"ALONE. A CONTINUED BRISK PACE OF HIGH LEVEL VISITS CAN HAVE A CRITICAL IMPACT ON OUR RELATIONSHIP.
PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IS ALSO KEY FOR ITS IMPACT ON THE FUTURE LEADERS OF THE YUGOSLAV MILITARY (AND PERHAPS OF YUGOSLAVIA ITSELF).
THEREFORE, WE CONTINUE TO URGE A SOLUTION TO THE FUNDING PROBLEM.
WE SHOULD CONTINUE A REGULAR SCHEDULE OF SIP VISITS TO YUGOSLAV PORTS AND GET UNDERWAY USN SHIP REPAIR AT TIVAT.
WE BELIEVE AJOINT MILITARY COOPERATION WORKING GROUP SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED TO REVIEW PERIODICALLY THE RESULTS OR LACK THEREOF IN EACH ASPECT OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND TO PROVIDE THE

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POLITICAL LEVEL OF EACH GOVERNMENT WITH A BALANCE SHEET.

11. A POSITIVE YUGOSLAV INTERNATIONAL ROLE. WE MUST ENCOURAGE
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YUGOSLAVIA TO PLAY A MODERATING ROLE IN THE NAM USING SUCH AVENUES AS PRESIDENTIAL EXCHANGES, FREQUENT DEMARCHES, AND APPROPRIATE EXPERT DISCUSSIONS TO GET OUR POINTS ACROSS. BUT IN REALISTICALLY APPROACHING THIS OBJECTIVE, WE MUST CONTINUE TO RECOGNIZE THAT US CONCERNS WILL NOT CHANGE YUGOSLAVIA' BASIC APPROACH. THE GOY WILL BE MOTIVATED ON NON-ALIGNED ISSUES MORE BY THE NON-ALIGNED CONSENSUS AND THE EFFECT ITS STAND ON ISSUES WILL HAVE ON ITS LEADERSHIP POSITION WITHIN THE NAM. NEVERTHELESS, WE SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE POSITIVE AT-MOSPHERIC ELEMENT WHICH HAS EMERGED FROM YUGOSLAVIA'S PERCEPTION OF THE CHANGE IN US ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NAM TO SEEK TACTICAL SHIFTS ON A LIMITED NUMBER OF ISSUES WHERE THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE SOME FLEXIBILITY AND WE HAVE AN INTEREST.
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